

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-16 EA-11 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00

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PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9900

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

USINT ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

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AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

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CINCLANT  
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USUN NEW YORK 483  
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SECDEF  
AMCONSUL OPORTO  
AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 2617

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PO  
SUBJ: ANALYSIS OF CURRENT PORTUGUESE POWER STRUCTURE

SUMMARY. EMBASSY'S ANALYSIS PRESENT STRUCTURE OF POWER IN PORTUGAL LEADS US TO CONCLUDE THAT SPINOLA AND JUNTA, WITH SUPPORT OR ACQUIESCENCE OF ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT, ARE IN CHARGE IN PORTUGAL. END SUMMARY

1. TWO MONTHS AFTER THE COUP, THREE MAJOR POWER ELEMENTS EXIST IN PORTUGAL. IN ORDER OF THEIR STRENGTH, THEY ARE: (1) SPINOLA AND THE JUNTA, (2) THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT (MFA), AND (3) THE POLITICAL LEFT. OTHER THEORETICAL OR POTENTIAL POWER ELEMENTS EXIST BUT HAVE YET TO ASSERT INDEPENDENT POWER: THE PROVISIONAL  
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GOVERNMENT (PG), THE COUNCIL OF STATE, THE POLITICAL CETNER, AND THE COURTS.

2. THE PG OPERATES ESSENTIALLY AS THE EXECUTOR OF JUNTA POLICIES, USED BY THE JUNTA TO CONDUCT THE DAILY BUSINESS OF GOVERNMENT AND TO BEAR SOME OF THE BRUNT OF UNPOPULAR DECISIONS. UNDOUBTEDLY THE PG INFLUENCES JUNTA POLICY AND TAKES SOME DECISIONS ON ITS OWN IN

AREAS KNOWN TO BE SAFELY WITHIN JUNTA-DEFINED LIMITS. HOWEVER THE PG'S MAIN POWER WEAPON IS THE NEGATIVE THREAT OF RESIGNATION. THE 21-MEMBER COUNCIL OF STATE HAS BEEN NAMED AND IS REPORTEDLY FUNCTIONING BUT HAS NOT YET BEEN SEEN TO OPERATE AS AN INDEPENDENT ENTITY. TO THE EXTENT THAT DIFFERENCES ARISE IN THE COUNCIL BETWEEN THE JUNTA AND THE MFA, THE JUNTA HAS A BUILT-IN MAJORITY IN THE FORM OF ITS OWN 7-MAN REPRESENTATION PLUS AT LEAST FOUR OF THE "CITIZENS OF RECOGNIZED MERIT" (PERDIGAO, AMARAL, LT. COL. BRUNO AND LT. COL. DURAO). THE POLITICAL CENTER IS STILL TRYING TO GET AWAY FROM THE STARTING GATE. ONCE IN THE RUNNING, IT IS LIKELY TO BE IMPORTANT AND SUPPORTIVE OF THE JUNTA. THE COURTS HAVE BEEN LARGELY QUIESCENT. IN THE ONE INSTANCE WHERE THERE WAS AN ATTEMPT AT JUDICIAL ASSERTIVENESS (THE PERALTA CASE), THE JUNTA SIMPLY OVERRULED THE COURT.

3. WITH THE SOCIAL, GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE PAST EITHER SWEEPED ASIDE, IN FLUX, OR REPLACED BY PROVISIONAL SUBSTITUTES, ULTIMATE POWER IN PORTUGAL RESIDES IN THE MILITARY FORCES. INFLUENCE AND CONTROL OVER THE MILITARY RANK AND FILE ARE, TO A DEGREE, SHARED BETWEEN THE JUNTA AND THE MFA (BY THE MFA, WE ARE REFERRING TO A RELATIVELY SMALL NUMBER OF OFFICERS, THE CORE BEING THE 7 MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE, WHO MAINTAIN A PERMANENT PRESENCE IN OFFICES IN THE GOVERNMENT OFFICE BUILDING AT SAO BENTO, AND WHO ARE THE SPOKESMEN FOR AND MAINTAIN INFORMAL LINKS WITH THE LARGER GROUP OF SOME 200 OFFICERS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE COUP BUT WHO HAVE LARGELY RETURNED TO THEIR BARRACKS.) AS ARMED FORCES CINC, GENERAL COSTA GOMES (ABOUT WHOSE LOYALTY TO SPINOLA THERE IS, AT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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MOMENT, NO QUESTION) EXERCISES FORMAL CONTROL OVER THE MILITARY FORCES. THIS FORMAL CONTROL IS STRONGLY BUTTRESSED BY THE HIGH REGARD IN WHICH COSTA GOMES IS HELD AS A PERSON AND COMMANDER BY THE TROOPS AND OFFICERS, INCLUDING PROBABLY THE VAST MAJORITY IF NOT ALL OF THE MEMBERS OF THE MFA. THE LATTER, BOTH BECAUSE OF THEIR IMMENSE PRESTIGE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY FOR HAVING CARRIED OUT THE COUP AND THROUGH THEIR POSITIONS IN THE COMMAND STRUCTURE ALSO EXERT INFLUENCE AND CONTROL WITHIN THE RANKS. WERE THERE TO BE A SERIOUS FALLING OUT BETWEEN JUNTA AND MFA, IT IS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER EITHER COULD CARRY THE MILITARY RANK-AND-FILE WITH THEM AGAINST THE OTHER.

4. WE DO NOT SEE SUCH A SERIOUS FALLING-OUT

DEVELOPING ALTHOUGH IT IS A POSSIBILITY SHOULD THE DE-COLONIZATION NEGOTIATIONS FAIL. SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE COUP, THERE HAS BEEN A SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JUNTA AND MFA. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE DOMINANT POLITICAL ORIENTATION OF THE MFA IS SUBSTANTIALLY THE SAME AS THAT OF SPINOLA AND COSTA GOMES, DESPITE THE UNDOUBTED EXISTENCE OF AN MFA MINORITY WHO ARE TO THE LEFT OF THE JUNTA LEADERS. WE WOULD DEFINE THAT SHARED JUNTA/MFA ORIENTATION AS CENTRIST, DETERMINED TO FIND AN HONORABLE END TO THE OVERSEAS WARS THROUGH A PROCESS OF SELF-DETERMINATION, BUT OPPOSED TO CHAOS AND PREPARED TO USE POWER, THOUGH IN AS RESTRAINED A MANNER AS POSSIBLE, TO MAINTAIN ORDER. THEY ALSO SHARE A DEDICATION TO BASIC DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES. THIS DEDICATION IS UNDOUBTEDLY HELD MORE PASSIONATELY BY THE MFA THAN IT IS BY THE JUNTA AND STATEMENTS BY SOME MEMBERS OF MFA SUGGEST A GREATER EMPHASIS BY THEM ON NEED FOR SOCIAL CHANGE THAN JUNTA HAS GIVEN TO DATE.

5. THE JUNTA AND THE MFA AMAJORITY HAVE HAD ONE MAJOR FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE, WHICH APPARENTLY HAS RESULTED IN A STAND-OFF, OVER WHETHER OR NOT THE MFA SHOULD CONTINUE AS SUCH TO EXIST. THE JUNTA CLEARLY PREFERS TO SEE THE MFA DISSOLVE AS A MORE OR LESS FORMAL BODY MONITORING THE JUNTA'S ADHERENCE TO THE SPIRIT OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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MFA PROGRAM AND PEERING OVER THE SHOULDERS OF THOSE CHARGED WITH RESPONSIBILITY IN BOTH CIVILIAN AND MILITARY FUNCTIONS. THE JUNTA SOUGHT TO ACHIEVE THIS BY ASSIGNING MFA MEMBERS TO A VARIETY OF TASKS WITHIN BOTH THE MILITARY AND CIVILIAN STRUCTURES, AND BY ATTEMPTING TO CONVINCE THE MFA THAT THEIR REPRESENTATION ON THE COUNCIL OF STATE PROVIDED THEM WITH AN INSTITUTIONAL LOCUS FROM WHICH TO EXERT EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER THE JUNTA'S ADHERENCE TO THE MFA PROGRAM. SPINOLA PROBABLY MOVED TOO FAST BY ANNOUNCING PUBLICLY MAY 31 THAT MFA HAD COMPLETED ITS TASK (LISBON 2235). MFA DID NOT DISBAND AND RETURN TO BARRACKS AS HOPED, REPORTEDLY APPREHENSIVE THAT SPINOLA MIGHT SEEK TO BUILD HIS PERSONAL AUTHORITY AND POPULARITY INTO A PERSONALITY CULT AND A TYPE OF DICTATORSHIP, HOWEVER BENEVOLENT. ON JUNE 14. SPINOLA CALLED A MEETING BETWEEN JUNTA, MFA AND TWO PG MEMBERS (SA CARNEIRO AND ECONOMICS MINISTER VIEIRA DE ALMEIDA) TO ATTEMPT TO CONVINCE MFA THAT CIVILIAN AND MILITARY GOVERNMENT ORGANS COULD NOT OPERATE EFFECTIVELY IF MFA CONTINUED BREATHE DOWN OFFICIALS' NECKS AND STAND AS COURT OF APPEAL WITH RESPECT OFFICIALS' DECISIONS. MEETING'S RESULT WAS REPORTEDLY

SOMEWHAT INCONCLUSIVE, MFA APPARENTLY AGREEING STAND  
BACK A BIT FURTHER BUT REFUSING DISBAND ON GROUNDS THAT  
HAVING MADE COUP THEY WERE RESPONSIBLE TO THE PEOPLE  
UNTIL DULY ELECTED GOVERNMENT INSTALLED TO ENSURE  
AGAINST DEVIATION FROM REVOLUTION'S PRINCIPLES. THIS  
RESULT REPRESENTS SMALL NET GAIN FOR SPINOLA, BUT  
MEANS THAT PROCESS OF ACCOMMODATION OF VIEWS BETWEEN  
JUNTA AND MFA WILL CONTINUE.

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O R 241709Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9901

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

USINT ALGIERS

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USUN NEW YORK 484  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LISBON 2617

6. OPEN CONTENTION BETWEEN POWER ELEMENTS EXISTS BETWEEN THE JUNTA AND THE POLITICAL LEFT. THE CON-  
TENDERS ON THE LEFT ARE DIVIDED, INCLUDING VARIOUS BRANDS OF SOCIALISTS AND THE FAR-LEFT MAOISTS, MARXIST-LENINISTS, ETC. (E.G. MRPP), BUT NOT, AT LEAST OPENLY, THE ORTHODOX COMMUNISTS (PCP), WHOSE STRATEGY OF SEEKING RESPECTABILITY KEEPS THEM ON THEIR BEST BEHAVIOR. THE LEFT'S ADVANTAGES INCLUDE ITS RECORD OF OPPOSITION TO THE PAST REGIME, DOMINANT INFLUENCE IN THE MEDIA AND INTELLECTUAL CIRCLES, ORGANIZATION, EXUBERANCE, AND A MEASURE OF SUPPORT FROM INDUSTRIAL WORKERS. ON A NUMBER OF MEASURES TAKEN BY THE JUNTA (PERALTA CASE, ARREST OF MRPP LEADER SALDANHA SANCHES, INTERVENTION IN THE URBAN

TRANSIT AND POSTAL WORKERS STRIKES, TAKE-OVER OF  
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TELEVISION, ESTABLISHMENT OF POST-PUBLICATION CENSORSHIP), THE LEFT HAS BECOME THE PUBLIC CRITIC OF WHAT IT INTERPRETS AS JUNTA DEVIATION FROM THE MFA PROGRAM. SUCH CRITICISM REPRESENTS IN PART GENUINE DISAGREEMENT, IN PART PUBLICITY SEEKING. MOST IMPORTANTLY, IT REPRESENTS AN EFFORT BY THE LEFT TO IDENTIFY WITH AND EXERT POLITICAL INFLUENCE ON THE MFA (WHILE THE JUNTA IS ATTEMPTING TO KEEP THE MFA OUT OF POLITICS). WE SUSPECT, HOWEVER, THAT THE DECIBELS PRODUCED ON THE LEFT ARE WELL OUT OF PROPORTION TO THE LEFT'S NUMERICAL STRENGTH AND THAT THEIR EFFECT ON THE MFA HAS BEEN LESS THAN SUBSTANTIAL.

7. THE MFA RESOLVE TO RESIST DISSOLUTION MAY HAVE BEEN STIFFENED BY THE WOOING FROM THE LEFT. BUT THAT WOOING HAS NOT BROKEN THE IDEOLOGICAL SYMBIOSIS EXISTING BETWEEN THE MFA MAJORITY AND THE JUNTA, WHOSE MOVES WHICH HAVE BEEN UNPOPULAR AMONG LEFTISTS HAVE HAD A LEAST MFA-MAJORITY ACQUIESCENCE AND PROBABLY SUPPORT. MFA SOLIDARITY WITH JUNTA EFFORTS TO BRING THE SITUATION UNDER CONTROL WAS UNDOUBTEDLY ENHANCED DURING THE CONTROVERSY LEADING TO THE GOVERNMENT TAKE-OVER OF THE TELEVISION STATION (RTP) WHEN ONE OF THE MFA'S OWN MEMBERS WHO WAS SERVING AS JUNTA DELEGATE TO RTP CAME UNDER ATTACK FROM LEFTISTS. THE ANNOUNCED INTENTION OF THE JUNTA TO USE THE MILITARY AS, IN EFFECT, SCABS IF NECESSARY TO BREAK THE RECENT POSTAL WORKERS STRIKE HAD MFA SUPPORT AND SUGGESTS THAT THE DOMINANT MFA POLITICAL ORIENTATION IS FAR FROM LEFTIST.

8. FOR ABOUT THE FIRST MONTH, THE JUNTA PERMITTED THE STEAM PENT UP FOR 48 YEARS TO BE RELEASED SEEKING AND LARGELY GAINING CREDIBILITY FOR ITS DEDICATION TO INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY. IN THE SECOND MONTH, STARTING WITH THE GALVAO DE MELO SPEECH OF MAY 27 AND CONTINUING IN SPINOLA'S SPEECHES AROUND THE COUNTRY, THE JUNTA ENTERED ITS WARNING PHASE, COUNSELING MODERATION AND FORECASTING STERNER MEASURES IF NECESSARY TO PREVENT CHAOS. IT HAS NOW BEGUN TO HAVE THOSE STERNER MEASURES IMPLEMENTED. AS IT CONTINUES TO DO SO, EITHER  
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WITH THE SUPPORT OR AT LEAST WITHOUT HINDRANCE FROM THE MFA, MORE POWER WILL FLOW TO THE JUNTA.

9. MEANWHILE, SPINOLA'S PERSONAL POWER HAS GROWN. IF HIS FORMAL MANDATE FOR POWER CAME FROM THE MFA, HE HAS FROM THE FIRST HAD A SUBSTANTIAL CONSTITUENCY, BOTH CIVILIAN AND MILITARY, BASED ON HIS WAR RECORD, HIS BOOK AND HIS NATIONAL REPUTATION. HIS MILITARY CONSTITUENCY HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED THROUGH COSTA GOMES'S SUPPORT AND PAY RAISED GRANTED TO THE TROOPS SINCE HIS ASSUMPTION OF OFFICE. HIS ACCLAMATION DURING HIS TRIPS AROUND THE COUNTRY HAS WIDENED HIS CIVILIAN CONSTITUENCY, WHILE HIS IMPLEMENTATION OF CONTROL MEASURES HAS UNDOUBTEDLY STRENGTHENED HIM IN THE SILENT RIGHT AND SCARCELY AUDIBLE CENTER, WHICH, COMBINED, MAY WELL REPRESENT THE MAJORITY OF THE VOTING POPULATION. HIS PRESTIGE HAS NOW BEEN GIVEN A SIGNIFICANT INTERNATIONAL BOOST THROUGH HIS MEETING WITH PRESIDENT NIXON (IN THE PROCESS UPSTAGING SOCIALIST FONMIN SOARES). LACKING A DEMONSTRATED MANDATE FROM A POPULAR MAJORITY, HIS CONTINUED ENJOYMENT OF PRESTIGE AND POWER WILL DEPEND ON SOLUTIONS FOR THE AFRICAN QUESTIONS AND FOR THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC MALAISE. IF PROGRESS TOWARD SOLUTIONS FOR THESE TWO CRUCIAL PROBLEMS IS MADE WITHIN THE YEAR, SUCH CONTROL MEASURES AS HAVE BEEN ADOPTED UNDER SPINOLA'S RULE WILL ACQUIRE JUSTIFICATION; OTHERWISE THEY WILL FORM A BILL OF PARTICULARS AGAINST HIM. AT THE MOMENT, HOWEVER, SPINOLA AND THE JUNTA, WITH THE SUPPORT OR ACQUIESCENCE OF THE MFA, ARE RUNNING PORTUGAL.

10. THE FOREGOING HAS BEEN APPROVED BY AMBASSADOR SCOTT.  
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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PFOR, PINT, PO, (SPINOLA, ANTONIO), (COSTA GOMES)  
**To:** STATE  
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**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005